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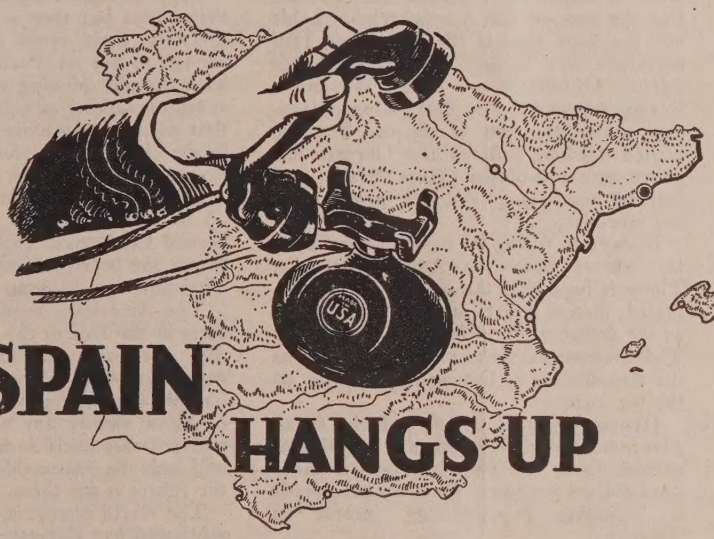
THE WORLD TOMORROW



SPAIN HANGS UP

By Devere Allen

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

Hunger and Clubs

Edward L. Israel

atholic Radicalism

R. A. McGOWAN

EINSTEIN GETS IN

By
Eccentricus

DECEMBER 21st 32

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The World Tomorrow

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Ex Cathedra

"COULD you not" requested the sobered but still hopeful optimist, "give us something hopeful and encouraging to think about? One grows so tired of prophecies of doom and groans of defeat. Surely there must be something in the present situation to justify hope and revive the drooping spirits of the people." Let us see what we can glean from the news of the day which might prevent the optimist from giving up the struggle:

We have insisted upon reparation payments and a wave of anti-American resentment is engulfing England and France. But the note of the Administration holds out the hope that if the December 15th payments are made, America may yet relent. Of course we will. We must. France relented too in demanding reparation payments from Germany. But she waited too long and the new German jingoism was full-blown before France had learned her lesson. We will probably be too late also.

Hoover is trying to foist another sales tax scheme upon the American people. There is hope that the project will be defeated, though it is by no means as certain as the defeat of the previous sales tax bill. The Democrats seem to be as afraid as the Republicans of levying higher taxes on the big incomes.

Hoover wants to cut the salaries of all government employees. But he is going to exempt those receiving less than a thousand dollars per year. Thus we have made a beginning in equalizing income in America.

Al Smith has a plan for reforming New York which all the liberals are welcoming. The hope is even held out that Al will permit himself to be nominated for Mayor of New York. We may thus look forward to a victory of the new Tammany over the old Tammany.

The bankers are demanding strict economy in the New York City government. That means that the municipal bonds won't become completely worthless—which spells hope for the people who own municipal bonds.

Turning to the international situation again, we find that the League Assembly as usual, is more anxious to bring Japan to terms than is the League Council. The small nations are more ready to deal rigorously with covenant breakers than the great powers. What can the small nations do but talk when the big powers refuse to act? Well, they can express the conscience of mankind in their talk. Perhaps there is some gain in that.

THE farmers are not going to starve this winter. They can get nothing for their crops but they were wise enough to diversify their crops so that they have enough to live on. Perhaps they will bring back the old spinning wheel and so be assured of clothing as well as food. Of course that would throw more people out of work in the cities, but we must, after all, cherish our hopes one at a time.

The various relief funds are not coming up to expectations but they will last until beyond Christmas. Perhaps Congress will forget the beer problem long enough after Christmas to do something about bread.

The American people seem to be very inert in the face of the sufferings to which they are being subjected. The Socialist vote was very disappointing. But many liberals are rushing to our aid and prophesying a victory for socialism if only it will not call itself socialism. If Socialists will only be reasonable, see how hopeful the future is for them.

The world economic conference has been postponed but Ramsay MacDonald is still hopeful that it will be held. Perhaps it will be as successful as the disarmament conference. Let us cling to that hope.

Perhaps—but why go on? This business of stirring up hope is such a strenuous task that it leaves one quite exhausted. Perhaps it would be more advisable to admit with the Book of Common Prayer that "there is no health in us" and transfer our hopes to the building of a new society rather than to the patching up of the old one.

PRONUNCIO

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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he Social Creed of the Churches

At a meeting of the Federal Council of Churches d in Indianapolis two weeks ago a new social creed s adopted. It does not differ widely from the creed ich has been the official position of the Protestant ırches on social questions since 1908. Nevertheless s significant that many of the "social ideals" stated the earlier creed have been elaborated and in the boration the "ideal" comes into closer juxtaposition h the realities of the present social system.

Thus, for instance, the creed speaks of the "shock- inequality of income" under the present system d attributes the breakdown of the present social ler to that fact. It asks the churches to "make ir voice heard in favor of an economic order in ich tariffs, transportation rates, the production of od and raw materials and the disposal of surplus oducts shall be determined with reference to the nmon welfare."

Interestingly enough, the whole creed was adopted prepared by a commission, of which Dr. Edward T. evine was the chairman, with the exception of one nificant feature. The Council accepted all the eco- mic radicalism of the report but returned the para- aph advocating birth control to the commission and the churches for further study. This was done in te of the fact that the council's Commission on arriage and the Home came out in favor of birth ntrol two years ago in a statement which was re- ved with general approbation and was criticized ly by isolated voices in the churches. Whether this tually means that the churches are more radical in eir economic theory than in their conceptions of nily and sex is an interesting question.

It must be added that one reason why it is possible get the organized churches to adopt such radical cial creeds as the Federal Council has perenially opted is that they are couched in purely ethical and t in political terms. The creed assumes that the eals which it recommends can be achieved by the onference method" and calls that method "an ap- cation of the Christian ideal of love". The political alist will have no difficulty in pointing out that the proximation of the equalitarian social ideal which ery paragraph of the churches' social creed implies ll never be achieved purely by a conference method. eligious thought in Europe would unite with the po- ical realism of America in analyzing this easy con- ence in the conference method. It would declare that such confidence proceeds from a naive faith in the goodness and perfectability of human nature which all the facts of history belie. The fight for social justice is a much more desperate battle and will meet much more stubborn resistance than the statement of the churches implies.

We do not depreciate the educational value of such a statement as the churches have made. We are happy that American churches are able to make more radical statements than any that European churches would dare to make. We wonder, nevertheless, whether the statement would be as readily accepted by the churches if it suggsted even in the vaguest terms what kind of political strategy would be necessary to attain the ideals of justice to which the churches commit themselves. In a sense the social creed betrays the weakness of liberal Protestantism. It lacks the religious overtones and the political undertones which would set its ethical idealism in the proper perspective.

Behind the Hunger Marchers

With sighs of relief, the police authorities of Washington escorted the last of the hunger marchers to the Virginia border, where they were soon swallowed up in the highway traffic. Official Washington again breathed easily. Four hundred Virginia Ku-Kluxers were now at liberty to return to their normal duties, in spite of their explosive utterance of a few days before: "Klansmen will give their last drop of blood before they will allow the Communist march to embarrass the President or Congress." But crowns rest uneasily on the heads of those who sit in seats of responsibility, for they realize only too vividly that they have not heard the last of hunger marchers. That there will be widespread rioting throughout the country before winter is past is taken for granted, and detailed preparations are being made to utilize "the majesty of the law" in suppressing uprisings of hungry men.

The volume of physical misery in this country at the present time is sufficient to stun the imagination. The engineers in the Taylor Society have recently estimated that the decline in the real pay-rolls of the United States—that is, pay-rolls expressed in terms of the amount of goods they will buy—has decreased to the extent of 50 per cent since the peak was reached, and that this represents a loss of five billion dollars in the purchasing power of the 8,500,000 factory workers of the nation. The American Federation of Labor has

calculated the decline in money wages at the stupendous sum of 25 billion dollars in 1932 as compared with 1929.

The number of unemployed in the United States at the present moment is certainly not less than 12 millions, and may be much higher. Then there are other millions of under-employed who are able to work only two or three days per week. Beyond these are still more millions whose earnings even while they work are barely sufficient to maintain a subsistence level for themselves and their families. From 300,000 to 500,000 boys and young men have taken to the open road, reports Newton D. Baker.

The available evidence indicates that not less than 20 million persons in this country will require charity in some form before the winter is ended, and that a total of at least two billion dollars from all sources will be required to meet the minimum annual requirements of the destitute of the land. Private charity will be forthcoming on a sufficient scale to provide only a small fraction of the total demanded. Public appropriations from municipalities, states, and the Federal government on a vast scale are imperative.

Moreover, the problem is by no means a temporary one. The engineers who are operating under the name of Technocracy have estimated that even if there were a return to the 1929 level of prosperty, the number of unemployed would still remain at approximately seven millions. Arguments in favor of a comprehensive national system of social insurance grow more compelling.

The case for drastic increases in the higher brackets of income and inheritance taxes is invincible. The gigantic reserves of investors' capital which are piled up in the coffers of the rich must be tapped and utilized for the public welfare. The enormous extent of these reserves of ready cash is indicated by the ability of the government of the United States to borrow money on 91-day notes at the incredibly low rate of one-seventh of one per cent interest. The sales tax will only increase the crushing burden already resting upon the poor. Economics and ethics combine in demanding the taxation of the rich according to their ability to pay.

And Great Will Be the Fall Thereof!

Japanese militarists are driving their nation swiftly and surely toward disaster. Obstructionist tactics by the Japanese representative at Geneva are having the effect of still further alienating world opinion. As we go to press, Mr. Matsuoka reports the decision of the Tokyo government rejecting conciliation. The latter proposal had been urged upon Japan by her former ally Great Britain, and its rejection represents the last word in intransigence.

Thus far the League has been excessively cautious in adopting measures which would antagonize Japan. Indeed, the delegates at Geneva have for a year leaned over so far backward as to endanger the spinal cord of the League, though Japan at no time has received any positive encouragement or support. To date the sins of the League have been those of omission rather than of commission, and it now seems still more incredible than at any time in the past that it will acquiesce in Japan's outrageous policy of defiance.

In the meantime, the financial situation in Japan is becoming more and more intolerable. The budget has risen to new heights, the yen is steadily falling to deeper depths, and the prospects of industrial collapse have never been so threatening. Mutiny in the Manchurian armies and renewed opposition by the Chinese forces combine to increase Japan's difficulties. That Japan is therefore riding for a terrible fall is increasingly obvious, and loud will be the thunder thereof.

Britain and Persian Oil

Within the past week the dispute over the cancellation of the concession of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company has become distinctly ominous. In reply to a Persian note warning Britain against the dispatch of troops, the British government on December 8 sent an ultimatum that unless the annulment were withdrawn within a week the matter would be referred to the World Court, and threatened in case of Persia's failure to afford adequate protection "to take such measures as the situation might demand." While much credit should be given to Great Britian for its decision to refer the controversy to The Hague, the case may well prove to be a decisive test of that tribunal. In addition to the fact that one of the great powers is arrayed against a state that has little political influence or military prowess, a fundamental issue has been raised regarding the function of the Court itself.

Legally, there can be very little doubt but that the Persian government has overstepped its rights in cancelling an agreement that had nearly 30 years to run, without presenting any evidence that the British had violated the terms of the pact. From a broad social point of view, however, we have a clear conflict between a newly-born Persian nationalism, seeking to regain control of the country's most valuable resources, and the deeply intrenched vested interests of British imperialism. The underlying issue is whether the recently established machinery for the maintenance of international peace can be utilized by the great powers for the stabilization of the injustices which are to be found in the *status quo*. If, on top of the recent demonstration of the inability of the peace machinery to stop Japanese aggression in Manchuria, these same agencies were suddenly to become effective in enforcing the dictates of a superior nation upon a weaker,

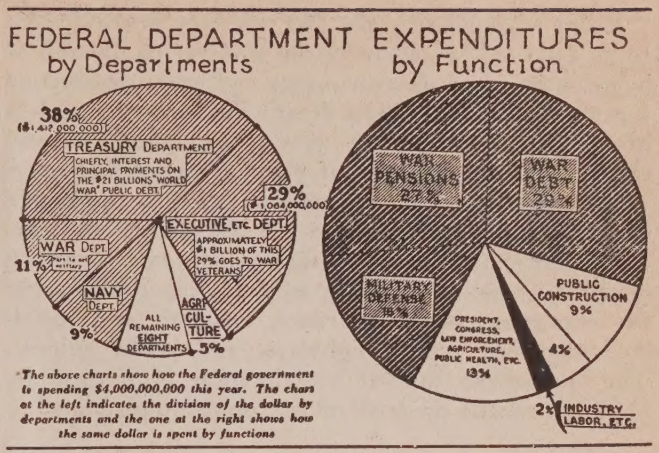
would not need to be a prophet to forsee the rapid ntegration of the League and the Court.

We Get Our Money's Worth?

The cry for lower taxes is reaching the proportions a storm. From every quarter comes the demand reductions in the cost of government. The grand l of all governmental expense in the United States bout 15 billion dollars, according to an estimate of National Industrial Conference Board and the Na- al Committee for Economy in Government. This ans that government is costing every person in this ntry an average of $116 annually. On the face t, this appears to be an intolerable situation.

By whom and for what are these 15 billions spent? e relevant data are revealed in an accompanying rt, prepared by the National Education Associa- n. It will be observed that local government con- nes 57 cents of the tax dollar, state government 17 ts, and Federal government 25 cents. In combi- ion the various governments expend 21 cents of ry dollar for protection, 19 cents for highways, and cents for education. It is thus apparent that if a stantial reduction in the cost of government is to be de, a large proportion must come from these three rces. Only seven cents out of a dollar goes for neral government, and only nine cents for social lfare.

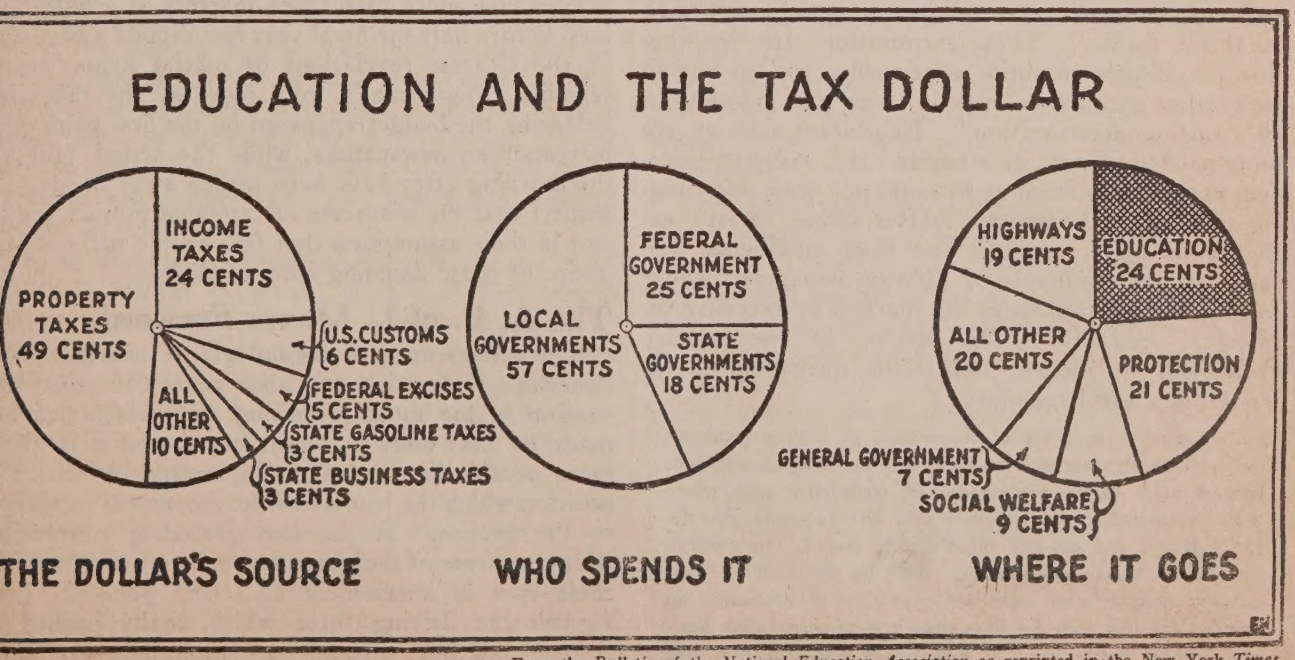
Out of every dollar expended by the Federal Gov- ment 29 cents is consumed by the war debt, 27 cents war pensions, and 16 cents by military defense—a al of 72 cents for these three items. It is easy to where the axe must fall if heavy pruning is to take ce.



The above charts show how the Federal government is spending $4,000,000,000 this year. The chart at the left indicates the division of the dollar by departments and the one at the right shows how the same dollar is spent by functions

From the *New York Herald-Tribune.*

As much as it is to be deplored, graft in government is responsible for only a small fraction of the total cost of government, and inefficiency is to blame for only another small proportion. War and the complexity of modern life make rising costs of government inescapable. So far as non-military costs of government are concerned, the future trend is likely to be upward and not downward, and desirably so! The increasing interdependence of persons dwelling in an industrial civilization produces an irresistible trend toward socialization. Except as a putrid corpse of a theory which befouls the atmosphere, laissez faire is as dead as a dodo. Corporate action and collective responsibility represent the tendency of the age in which we live, and the functions of government are certain to be greatly extended during the coming decades. This, in the nature of the case, means increased costs of government.



From the *Bulletin of the National Education Association* as reprinted in the New York *Times.*

From what sources are the revenues thus required to be derived? First, from the transfer of funds now being squandered on armaments and other destructive functions; second, from a drastic increase in the rates of income and inheritance taxes in the higher brackets; third, from the proceeds of publicly owned and operated industries. In combination this trio is capable of producing a vast revenue for the general welfare. No dollar expended brings such a high rate of return in terms of social wellbeing as the public dollar spent for education, social insurance, hospitals and socialized medicine, roads, highways, and public edifices. The movement toward socialization is irresistible. Shall it proceed by drift or by conscious planning?

Inevitable!

"Government ownership is inevitable. The important question now is: Will it be adopted promptly, and on a sound plan? An affirmative answer requires an optimistic disregard of the forces of blind greed and unenlightened selfishness that have generally dictated our American policies, at least in recent years." These are the concluding words of a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* by George W. Anderson, until lately a judge in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Boston.

In this illuminating interpretation, Judge Anderson presents evidence to show that private operation of the railroads is grossly inefficient and is rapidly breaking down. He quotes the latest reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the effect that in the year 1932 Class 1 roads will "fall short of earning their interest charges by over $200,000,000"—to say nothing of dividends to investors. Not less than 697 railroad companies are "wildly competing with each other for traffic." These corporations are "wasting tens of millions in futile advertising, and in buying duplicating equipment—now in large part standing in idle, rusting deterioration." Exorbitant salaries are being paid to officials, as many as 1,008 railroad executives receiving as much as $10,000 per year, and ranging upward to $135,000. After citing various examples of poor judgment and rank inefficiency, the Judge speaks scathingly of railway managers "whose policies and performances are marked by excessive intellectual frugality." His opinion of the relative weaknesses of private and public ownership is expressed in a vivid summary:

> . . . after many years of observation of both government and private-corporation bureaucracies, the only government bureaucracies fairly comparable in *in*efficiency and waste with innumerable private-corporation bureaucracies are the Farm Board and possibly the Shipping Board. In general, government business is managed, both by the Federal Government and by most state and municipal governments, on sounder and less wasteful lines than private-corporation business. There is less fraud in government administration, and fewer serious errors in the methods and in the policies adopted; private corporations, however, are more successful in concealing both their frauds and their inefficiencies than the government bureaucracies. In general, our Government functions with less disregard of essential human rights and interests.

Well, well, well! From a Federal judge of Boston And published in the *Atlantic Monthly!*

Slightly Off Balance

The American people have notoriously short memories, but we wonder whether they have already forgotten the hullabaloo last summer, and likewise during the campaign in the early fall, over the necessity of a balanced budget. The Democrats, so Mr. Ogden Mills declared in his exalted post at the Treasury, if elected, would gravely unbalance the budget. The Republicans, according to the Democrats, would have thrown the budget off balance long ago if it hadn't been for Mr. Garner and the Democratic members of the Senate.

That it was an impossibility to balance the budget despite all the political propaganda, everyone knew who possessed any political maturity; but nevertheless this obvious fact was kept carefully from public ventilation. The fifth month of the present fiscal year ended on November 30, however, with a deficit thus far amounting to $751,311,422. Income taxes in this period were $155,434,000 under the sum received during the same five months of 1931, while customs receipts dropped off $53,118,000. There is reason to hope that the new tax rates may bring in enough after next March 15 to reduce the rate at which the deficit is piling up. But the unpleasant truth that the deficit is even now more than three-quarters of a billion dollars, before half the fiscal year has slipped away, is one of the clearest revelations of official hypocrisy conceivable. Significantly, too, most of the talk about balancing the budget appeared on the first page of the metropolitan newspapers, while the actual figures of the morning after have been tucked away inside. We suspect that the wiseacres of capitalist politics are correct in their assumption that few people will ever take notice of these damning rows of digits.

The A. F. of L. Moves Forward

The endorsement of unemployment insurance by the American Federation of Labor at its Cincinnati Convention is the most promising step which has been made by that body in recent years, and it is all the more notable in view of the bitter and ill-formed opposition which the leaders of the movement manifested to the proposal at the two preceding conventions. Many students of the labor movement must have rubbed their eyes in amazement at seeing John L. Lewis furnish the driving force which finally pushed the recommendation through a resolutions committee

ch was made up of such opponents as Matthew ll, Victor Olander and John P. Frey. This appar- y surprising action by one who, to put it mildly, never been noted for his liberalism is probably to explained by the strong left-wing movement in the ers' union which has been fostered, among others, the Communists. The left-wingers have been mak- unemployment insurance one of their chief de- nds and it may be surmised that Mr. Lewis, in order strengthen his internal position in the union, wished take this issue away from them by making it his. e whole experience therefore shows the social util- of a strong leftward movement in labor, as well in politics, which will goad lethargic officals into ion. The center needs a left which it may use inst the right and unless there is such a group, prog- s is likely to be slow and halting.

But whatever may have been the motives of the F. of L. leaders in approving unemployment insur- e, we may be heartily thankful for their action, ich removes one of the strongest forces hitherto rating against the enactment of legislation toward t end. We can only hope that the A. F. of L. will h the fight for unemployment insurance with the or which President Green promises and that they l not negate it by inaction as they did with the 1920 olution favoring the Plumb Plan, which incidentally s also supported by Mr. Lewis.

ne Revolutionary 30-Hour Week

Radicals commonly overlook the fact that the 30- ur week without change in the weekly rates of pay, ich is now being demanded by the A. F. of L., ans in practice an increase of approximately 60 per t in the hourly wage rates. This great increase in ts in the face of low and declining prices and al- st non-existent profit margins would in all proba- ty cause a very large percentage, and perhaps even majority, of American plants, under our present tem, to close their doors. The 30-hour week under pitalism would, therefore, give fewer jobs, instead more, as is claimed.

It is therefore highly inconsistent to declare, as Presi- nt Green did at Cincinnati, that capitalism should strengthened and at the same time to advocate any h program as this. We suspect that Norman omas's advocacy of such a measure during the cam- gn was caused by his belief that the general shut- wn of industry which would ensue would enable us back into socialism with some speed. There can be doubt that the 30-hour week is under such condi- ns a revolutionary demand, and one's attitude to- rds it must largely be determined by whether or not e believes that any ultimate good would overbalance immediate prostration and confusion that would certain to follow.

Frances Perkins for the Cabinet

We have never placed any ultimate hope in the rise of competent progressives to positions of influence within the present order, since we know only too well how inhibited they necessarily are by the existing distribution of political and economic power. But we confess that we are moved to a real, if tempered, enthusiasm by the reports that Governor Roosevelt is considering the appointment of Frances Perkins, now Industrial Commissioner of New York, as Secretary of Labor.

If personal worth and competence were to decide the issue, there can be but little doubt that Miss Perkins would be appointed. For throughout her career she has worked for the protection of the underdog, and during her four years as the head of the New York Department of Labor, she has made an extraordinary record as a skillful administrator. She has furnished leadership of rare energy and intelligence to the movement for unemployment insurance and an adequate public employment service. She would make of the Federal Department of Labor a far different institution from that which it has degenerated into under the stupid and heavy-handed ministrations of James J. Davis and William N. Doak.

There are, however, two obstacles which may make Governor Roosevelt hesitate to follow his inclination to appoint Miss Perkins. The first of these is the way in which the A. F. of L. regards the Department of Labor as its own plum, and it is understood that the chieftains of that organization have agreed to push the candidacy of the totally undistinguished Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Teamsters' Union. The issue is thus clearly joined as to whether the Department of Labor is designed to furnish comfortable jobs for politically influential labor leaders or actual aid to the hardpressed workers themsleves. The appointment of Mr. Tobin in preference to Miss Perkins would be a frank confession that the former consideration was paramount.

The second obstacle in the way of Miss Perkins' appointment is the fact that New York State is likely to be heavily represented by other Cabinet choices, and that political considerations may dictate a choice from some other geographical area. To this objection it may be said that we could bear the elimination of John W. Davis, Owen D. Young, or even the inimitable Al Smith far more readily than that of Miss Perkins. She belongs to the country and not to any one state. It is extremely encouraging that large groups of progressive Middlewesterners are recognizing this fact and are busily at work stirring up public sentiment in those regions for her. Just as Senator Borah obtained the appointment of Judge Cardozo to the Supreme Court, so do we hope that these groups may obtain the appointment of Miss Perkins.

Saving America

A Red-Letter Day in One of Civilization's Outposts

"COME in, Herr Eisensweig," said the American proconsul at Berlin. "We just want to ask you a few questions for our, er, enlightenment. Have a cigar? No? A visa, then?"

"I shouldn't mind," murmured the distinguished caller, sitting on the edge of a chair. "The name, by the way, is Einstein."

"Very good, very good," muttered the official absently, shuffling some impressive-looking papers—laundry *rechnungen,* a catalog of the *Tiergarten,* several abstracts from the *Börse,* an envelope of tickets to the *Opernhaus,* a copy of *Ballyhoo,* and a *pile* of foreign postage *stamps* laid aside for the *nephews.* "Fine weather we're having," he ventured, looking studiously out upon the drizzle falling through the branches on the *Wilhelmplatz.* A clerk rose and went out; the visitor looked envious. "How are you, Herr Epstein?"

"Einstein is the name."

"Yes, yes; of course. Ha! Now, Herr Eckstein, you will understand that before we allow you to get into America, we must assure ourselves that, er. . . ."

"But I have already been in America—two times."

"So? Ah, yes; but that was different." Here the proconsul sighed wearily, removed the golden casque from his brow, and glanced surreptitiously at a red-white-and-blue letterhead on his desk, forwarded with a memo from the State Department. "But there are —shall we say?—reasons why the United States government must be certain that those who come as—shall we say?—guests to our shores, will be capable of meeting the demands of American—shall we say?—ideas. We must—um—ask a few definite questions. First of all, what is your name?" "That I have already told you," said the great man, chuckling.

"Indeed you have, Herr Eisenberg, indeed you have. I just wanted to know for the sake of the record. And we should like to know your occupation."

Stumped for a moment, the savant looked bewildered, turning to his amiable helpmeet for light. How could he inform the vast American public regarding the things he actually did? "Well," he responded, haltingly, I think hard. . . ." "Of course," interjected the American, irritably; "but surely you don't *think* eight hours a day."

The German began to see that it looked bad about getting into America. "I mean," he hastily added, "that I also figure, I calculate equations, and—well, I am a scientist."

"Oh," remarked the inquisitor. "My Uncle Elmer used to read Mrs. Eddy too. But what else do you do?" "What else?" stammered the puzzled mathematician. "Yes. Do you, for example, engage in any activities which arouse the authorities?"

"I can try," said Doctor Einstein brightly, anxious to be courteous.

"I mean, have you ever caused disturbances to the Reich?"

"Albert, dear," said Frau Einstein, timidly. "You remember the fiddle. . . ." Her husband hung his head. "But even so," he protested, "I am not taking it to America."

"What's all this?" sharply demanded the agent of the great American people. "Come clean—that is, do not be reticent. We want to know the worst, and if it isn't bad enough, we can write home to the President and say that everything is all right."

"But Your Honor"—"He means 'Your Excellency, Your Majesty," interrupted Frau Einstein, hurriedly —"I have met Mr. Hoover and we got along fine."

"Ah, but I don't mean Mr. Hoover, Herr Eichler I mean the President of the Woman Patriot's Corporation—one of our up and coming hundred-per-cent Americans." "Coming?" gasped the man of figures "Not here, oh no," reassuringly; and, under his breath, *"Gott sei dank!"*

"Is this lady running the country now?"

"Not precisely. . . . But the Department of State . . . Well, you know what State Departments and women are. . . ." Here Frau Einstein bridled, "Who are these women with corporations?"

"They say you are an Anarchist, a Communist, a Socialist, a Nudist, an Atheist, a Scientist, a Violinist and a Pacifist." Seeing Doctor Einstein start up angrily and stride toward the door, the proconsul hastily unscrewed his microscope, signalled his assistant to cut out the dictograph, took off his barrister's wig and three pairs of glasses, smiled disarmingly, and gently began to speak. But all of a sudden there was a peremptory buzzing of the telephone. "Hello. . . What, from Washington? . . . Hello, Hank. . . . Hey Really? That lets me out." Whereat the aroused professor cried, "And that lets me in. And as for you American busybodies, I have only this to say:

U W.P.Corp.
over = HA-HA. *over* = HA-HA². U.S.A. — ME = HA-HA³
ME U.S.A.

He slammed the door and departed. The proconsul recoiled, choked, tottered to the window, tripped over his broadsword, clutched at the curtain, and fell in a faint. The curtain fell too. ECCENTRICUS.

as Brailsford sees it

How to Raise Prices

THE British government, with all its resources, moral physical, is struging to raise the price of at. It bends diplomacy this end. It even uses the monarchy, for it takes nite pains to make itself agreeable to the Argene Republic and also to Denmark, for they send their f and bacon to our shores. This effort on the part a civilised government which retains its sanity is so gular and at first sight so puzzling that it may be of erest even to readers across the Atlantic to investie its meaning. It will be evident, I think, before we ve gone very far that it is not an English eccentricity. runs parallel to many a trans-Aatlantic precedent. r much the same reasons your Southern farmers re advised to plough in every third row of their cot- fields. For precisely the same reasons the Brazil- government sinks a million sacks of coffee in the ean. We too have our familiar problem of want id abundance.

The British case is not much more complicated than y of these. In our market the cheaper grades of at, both beef and mutton, are imported in cold rage from Australia, New Zealand and the Argene. The better or supposedly better quality is proced at home on our English pastures, and finds its y to our stomachs unfrozen—or so the purchasers their innocence believe. Whether better or not, this ome-killed" meat, sold under various romantic mes as "Scotch mountain mutton" and the like, is at y rate dearer than the imported article. There is t, even today, a tariff on foreign meat; patriotic ejudice achieves the same result. There is always nargin of difference in price, but it must not exceed, , three or four cents a pound, for above that limit triotism breaks down. If, then, the foreign meat rives in great abundance and sells at a low price, native article slumps in sympathy.

That is what has happened. Our market has been oded with foreign meat. Finding no ready sale, its olesale price has fallen, and with prompt sympathy price of the native article has dropped till it no nger pays the farmers to produce it. So they say, d in this instance one is compelled to believe them. now what my neighbours tell me in the village where spend part of my year. Farmer Smith brought a ve at so many shillings: he has sold her with her two lambs at less than he paid for her. Mrs. Brown reared a fine litter of pigs: she has just sold them at less than half the cost of their feed. Farmer Smith and Mrs. Brown have no friends in Downing Street, but they have votes. The Government, dreading the wrath to come, has taken its measures. It has fixed a quota for imports of beef, mutton and bacon, a pretty drastic one, rising progressively as time goes on. Bacon will be curtailed at once by 20 per cent, and other kinds of meat only a little more slowly.

IN due course, so the argument runs, the price of imported meat must rise, and that of the native patriotic joints must follow it. Perhaps it will, but I am not quite sure. Suppose that in the meantime the British public feels that it has grown a shade poorer, and can no longer afford to pay for mutton with a romantic name? In that event the price of native meat will not rise. Again, while it is probable enough that retail prices in the butchers' shops will rise, some time and conceivably a very long time will elapse before the farmer receives a higher price for his animals. Some of them, realising this danger, have begun to kill their beasts themselves and hawk the meat in the streets. They get in this way, even today, a price that satisfies them.

But this primitive method of eliminating the middleman cannot be pushed very far in a modern civilised community. There are laws and regulations which very properly insist that meat shall be killed in an approved slaughter-house under sanitary inspection. That is the bottle-neck through which the unfortunate producer must pass, and it is there the retailer lies in wait to take his toll, like a brigand whom I once encountered in a Macedonian pass, seated on a rock with a rifle across his knees. I went free, for I carried nothing, but I watched a caravan of pack-horses obediently paying tribute as it went past him.

This, then, is the explanation of the singular effort in which the British Empire is engaged, with the object of raising the price of meat in the home market. How to comment on it I hardly know, for it fills me with inarticulate wonder. Here is a government, as well-meaning as the general run of governments, which deliberately reduces our national supply of food and

raises its price, knowing, one must suppose, that its citizens, taking them as a whole, are not over-fed. Processions of the unemployed have just been parading their hunger in the streets of London. There are a hundred thousand miners in the stricken coalfields of Durham and South Wales whose families rarely see meat on the table. There is no glut of unsaleable meat: indeed, if the price were to fall a little lower still, the English market could doubtless absorb a vastly greater quantity. As usual in such cases, in our ramshackle modern world, it is not need or demand that falls short, but what economists call effective demand, which means the demand of a hungry man with money in his pocket.

PRICE, as everyone knows, depends on the relation between available supply and effective demand. You can raise prices in one of two ways. You can reduce the supply, which is what the British government is doing. But the other method works equally well. Given the demand, you may take steps to make it effective. In other words, you may put money in the hungry man's pocket. With a sufficient sum of money in an adequate number of hungry pockets you may raise prices as high as you please. Given the fact of hunger, who can doubt that of the two methods of raising prices this is the better, and indeed the only tolerable one; for the other means privation and a lower standard of life.

But I am understating the facts. This Government of ours is busily engaged in lowering the "effective demand" of its citizens. In plain words, it is reducing the money in hungry pockets. It has done it by cutting the salaries of teachers and civil servants. It has done it even by cutting the dole. It has done it, and does it still, by reducing its own expenditure on public works and by insisting that municipalities shall follow its example. Finally the official who represented it in the mediation that brought the recent cotton strike to an end, has lowered wages in Lancashire's chief industry by 12½ per cent. Now this would be at least explicable if prices were falling. Here in England the index of the cost of living stands obstinately still. It must rise, however, if food prices rise, and that is the Government's design. Some, like meat, will be raised by the device of quotas that restrict the supply, and others by the more usual expedient of the tariff. At this point my inarticulate wonder overcomes me, and I gasp, silent and defeated. For what is one to make of this craziness? You want to raise prices, so you reduce supply. That is a vicious method, but quite effective. But if you simultaneously reduce effective demand will your vicious method work?

What has happened is, I imagine, this. Our politicians have overheard the economists saying that it is necessary to raise the general level of prices. They did not understand how or why, but they took it on trust, that it was a sound thing to raise prices. And so they set to work to do it. The farmers made a noise about meat. "Very well," said the politicians, "let's begin with meat," and they did it, never doubting that the economists would approve. But you cannot raise the general price level by hoisting the price of one thing at a time. On the contrary, if you do this you may even tend to lower the average level. For if I must spend more on meat (my income being no larger), I shall have less to spend on fish and eggs and butter. My demand for these articles will decline, and the prices of these things will fall.

What the politicians failed to grasp, when the economists told them to raise the general level of prices, is that this is a monetary operation. It can be done only by expanding the total volume of credit and purchasing power. Even then the operation will be ineffective, or will at best work slowly, unless you can arrange that the additional purchasing power goes into the hands of those who will use it to buy mutton and all the other things of daily use. In plain words it must reach the hungry pockets. If our Government would first create a demand for labour, there would soon be a brisk demand for mutton. It can raise money today at two per cent. The interest on a Development Loan would actually cost less than we pay in "doles" to the men whom it would employ. It would be easy on these terms to rebuild all the older quarters of our cities. In short, the surest way to raise the price of mutton is to clear away the slums.

H. N. Brailsford

London, December 5, 1932.

Over the Town

OVER the smudge and towers of the town
A giant figure stalks at lupine pace;
Sharp teeth unbared; a lean and pointed face;
Thin furry ears; and long tongue lolling down.
With jaws that snap and snarl, and eyes that frown,
He smells for blood; and myriads of our race
Fall like slain lambs beneath his fanged embrace;
While on his head sparkles a golden crown.

Baring the world's magnanimous heart to bleed,
He roams in shop and street; and pads all day
Where smokestacks belch or marble galleries shine;
And envious hosts, who watch him prowl and prey,
Bow down in reverence; and, at many a shrine,
Offer sweet incense to the wolf-god, Greed.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Hunger and Clubs

EDWARD L. ISRAEL

I HAVE seen the notorious coal and iron police at work in the hills of Pennsylvania. Their actions were those of polished gentlemen compared with conduct of the police of Washington, D. C., as I wed it at the hunger marchers' camp. I have had ew hours' sleep since that memorable visit. I have stop to organize my thoughts in order to realize t what I saw was actual fact and not a horrible am, a miserable nightmare.

The American Civil Liberties Union had asked me represent it as a speaker at a protest meeting on onday night, December 5. We were to challenge illegal detention of the hunger marchers in their serable windswept barricade. A Masonic Hall had en engaged for the meeting by a group of profes- nal authors. A partial payment had been made. e money was refunded at almost the last minute. e engagement was cancelled. Not another public ll in the city of Washington would permit a meeting protest against the treatment of the hunger rchers. Washington is in an hysterical condition ese days. It enjoys the prosperity from fat bureau- cies, but it becomes terror stricken when forlorn employed men and women from all over the country nt to come to the center of government and use ir constitutional rights of petition and protest ainst an economic order which dooms them to un- ployment and starvation.

Commenting on the murderous treatment of the nus army, President Hoover, during his ill-starred npaign, frantically shouted something about thank- g God "that there was a government in Washington at knew how to handle rioters." The same iron hand s commanded to descend swiftly and effectively on s second hunger army. An intelligent Commis- ner of Police had been displaced so that nothing ght stand in the way of consummate cruelty.

The insidiousness of the police plan with regard to s hunger march is clear only to one who under- nds the geographical conditions. New York Avenue Washington, D. C., has been extended in the form of wide concrete boulevard from Florida Avenue to adensburg Road, a distance of about two miles. On e side, throughout its entire length, the road is unded by a sharp incline leading down to the gigan- railroad yards of the Washington Terminal. On e other side, there is no outlet, only a bare blank vation. There is no escape on either side of the ad throughout its entire length. The hunger rchers, as they approached Washington, were herded into this ambush. The road was closed by a police guard at both ends. Machine guns were mounted on the elevation at the one side. An attempt to escape on the other side through the busy railroad yard meant almost inevitable maiming or death. It was shrewd tactics on the part of the police. No favorite official of Czarist Russia could have devised a better scheme for ambuscading a starving people crying for bread and justice.

The hunger marchers were driven into this desolate region. They were told, "You came here without being invited. Here's where you stay." There were no sleeping facilities. Cramped in automobiles or trucks, men and women tried to snatch a few hours' rest. Some of them, finding no room, stretched out on the cold concrete road or on the frozen clay. There was no drinking water. A group was allowed to go out once or twice a day and bring back garbage cans filled with water. Each of the three thousand was lucky if he got a glass of water a day. There was no place to wash. Above all, there were no sanitary arrangements. Men and women were forced to take care of their bodily needs practically in the open. The orders from the start were that not one of these marchers could leave the barricaded road.

AT five o'clock on the afternoon of December 5, several police had been rushed to the scene on a riot call. None of us was certain what was going on behind the barricaded road. It was, therefore, with certain tremors of excitement and misgivings that I approached the drawn ropes at Florida and New York Avenues that evening. I was with a United Press man. I said something about representing the American Civil Liberties Union and managed to get by the barred entrance. I proceeded along about a quarter of a mile of vacant concrete highway. I then came to the second group of policemen gathered by the hundreds. A little farther on, behind a final roped-off barrier, were the hunger marchers. There were no excited speeches among them. The marchers were under the perfect control of their leaders.

The situation among the police was something quite different. As I arrived, I was informed that the conditions among the women marchers and some of the sick men were so deplorable that the Police Commissioner had given permission for these women and sick men to be taken out. They had been freezing for 48 to 72 hours. Cars were lined up. These pathetic women and haggard drooping men stood by, waiting to

enter. The police gathered around and jeered at the marchers. They poked them with their clubs, saying, "Get the hell in there, you dirty yellow bums." This was the first actual evidence I had of what I had heard to be the fact, namely, that the police were deliberately trying to incite the hunger marchers to riot in order to use their machine guns and gas bombs upon them.

After most of the women and sick men had left, we wanted to test whether the others were still going to be retained as prisoners, illegally. A group of hunger marchers issued from the barricade headed by one of the leaders and a Washingtonian sympathizer. An officer grabbed them. "Where are you goddamned bums going? Get the hell back of that barricade!" The leader very calmly stated that he had ample housing provision for these men and wanted to take them out. Without reference to a superior officer, a group of policemen drove them back behind the barrier.

Suddenly, one of the officers took hold of me and said, "What are you doing here? Get the hell out of here!" I said, "Why?" He answered, "Cuz I said so." I said, "I'm here for the American Civil Liberties Union. I want to see if the civil rights of these men are being violated." His ready retort was, "These goddamned bums ain't got no rights. And you get out of here or else see the Inspector about staying."

After a brief conversation with one Inspector, I was referred to the Chief Inspector, Davis. Word had gotten round that representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union were on the job and that some Congressmen were coming up to view conditions. A sudden change in policy took place. We were told that the hunger marchers could be taken out, provided there was room for them in the city. They could go out in taxis, but no more than two taxis could leave at a time and these would have to return under police escort before another group of 10 men could leave. Here it was, a bitter cold night. These refugees had been out in that weather for two or three days, stretched along a mile of desolate road. We were now given permission to take some of them out, but under such restrictions that it would have required eight hours to move 350 men.

THE few of us who were representing the opposition on the basis of violation of constitutional rights were surrounded by representatives of the press. We spoke freely, although the reactionary press carried very little, if any, of what we said. The Scripps-Howard newspapers are the only ones which have given the hunger marchers anything like a fair break on publicity.

One of the many detectives circulating around went over to the Chief Inspector and said, "Some of those guys are talking to reporters. Are you going to let them do that?" The Chief Inspector was evidently impressed, not by his detective but by the interview. In the presence of the newspaper men, he called together the policemen and addressed them in somewhat the following manner: "You fellows have been 'balling up' things by taking too much authority on yourselves. I want you to let anybody who wants to, go back into the camp and, remember, I'm running this thing. Keep your mouths shut and come to me." He also liberalized the order for removing the marchers. We could have several taxi cabs. One of the young women assisting the author's committtee, which had been doing valiant work, was dispatched to get the taxi cabs and one or two private cars. Some minutes later they came up, and the most dastardly act of the police in the entire proceedings evidenced itself. The tires of a number of these automobiles were deliberately punctured, in order to delay the removal of the marchers to homes. It was impossible to believe that such a thing would be done and yet, as seven or eight machines drove toward the hunger camp barrier after having passed the police cordon, seven tires collapsed at the same spot. The first taxi cab in line had new tires. Both rear tires were flat. We heard the hiss of the escaping air.

A group of the marches had come out from behind the ropes preparatory to entering the cabs. As the tires went flat, they could not enter the cars and they remained standing there waiting for orders from their leaders. A group of burly cops came up and, poking these fellows with their clubs, said, "Get the hell back where you belong, you lousy bums." Another made some reference to the "sheeny bastards."

The vilest sort of epithets had been used constantly by the policemen throughout Sunday and Monday. It was not until Monday evening, when the group of us made our presence felt, that there was ever any rebuke. In fact, the only rebuke that I heard came from the Chief Inspector at the last demonstration of vulgarity and cruelty referred to in the preceding paragraph. Seeing us around and knowing that we had just witnessed not only the vulgarity but also the punctured tire episode, he rushed over toward the officers and ordering them back, he said in an almost piping voice, "My goodness, men, didn't I tell you not to do things like that!" We laughed aloud!

I WAITED until the first load of machines had left. I wondered how much the people of Washington and of the country would ever know of what was happening there on New York Avenue. I got an early morning paper, the *Washington Post*. It spoke of the marchers as "pugnacious and rebellious!" The miraculous and remarkable truth is that they were neither, despite every provocation. The entire tenor of the

le, similar in spirit to that which appeared later e Monday *Evening Star*, was to minimize the so- significance of the protest against existing condi-, as dramatized by this group of suffering men women. Such newspaper headings as "No signs unger among hunger marchers" were used to keep truth from the public. With the exception stated e, namely, the Scripps-Howard papers, the report- of the facts of what was occuring in the ambus- on New York Avenue was one of the most per- ed pieces of journalism I have seen in a long time. dare of the police to the marches to start a riot glossed over. This was one of the most glaring cations of the distortions. The people of Wash- on and of the country were made to feel that the netic hunger marchers were the provocative and gerous crowd. The fact of the matter is that they e paragons of law and virtue compared with the shington police.

The colossal stupidity of the whole proceedings was its worst aspect. Here came a group of men and women into the heart of our government asking the constitutional right of petition and protest, and promising to leave within a few days. No crowd has ever functioned more obediently under a more responsible leadership. If they had been allowed to present their petition and make their protest and depart, the whole matter would have passed over quietly. Instead, they were imbued with a conviction that, at the very center of American democracy, the underdog has no chance. It is such tactics which are gnawing at the roots of the sound structure of American life. The Washington police in their treatment of the hunger marchers did more violence to American institutions than could ever have been accomplished by permitting these ragged victims of unemployment to stand on their soap boxes and harangue their audiences with the most revolutionary doctrines.

Spain Worries Washington

DEVERE ALLEN

THE Spanish earthquake of April, 1931, has just begun to agitate the seismograph at Washington. The result has been a Spanish-American crisis of or magnitude. We have not yet threatened to ak off diplomatic relations with imperial Japan; but have done precisely that with socialistic Spain. The sequences of official rupture were held over the ds of the Azaña Ministry to force the withdrawal a bill scheduled to be voted through the *Cortes* on ember 6, cancelling the contract of the Compañia efonica Nacional, a subsidiary of our International ephone and Telegraph Company. The United tes government contended that it could not sanction nilateral ending of contracts, even though made by rthrown regimes, and frankly conceded its fear of recedent for Latin American countries—which look n profound respect today toward the Iberian pen- la. If the I. T. and T. stake of $65,000,000 in in were "confiscated"—little has been made of the n, in Article 3 of the bill, for indemnification by Spanish government—what might not happen to $5,000,000,000 invested in uneasy Latin America? e shock to the I. T. and T. was more than slight, ugh it has long known what was coming; its stock, ributed, it is said, among 100,000 shareholders, pped sharply December 5 and rose only when the ger was postponed.

pain, on the other hand, stoutly asserts its sov- gnty; insists that the contract of 1924 was only put ough under the detestable dictatorship of Primo de Rivera after a bribe of 500,000 pesetas (more than $100,000 at par) had been paid to "a high official".

Though only a little has been published about the controversy in this country, and most of that inspired, the government at Madrid was indubitably shaken by our attitude, or rather by its possible repercussions in Spain. The three Socialists in the Cabinet—Fernando de los Rios, Largo Caballero, and Indalecio Prieto—together with the two Radical Socialists, Alvaro de Albornoz and Marcelino Domingo (Radical Socialists correspond to the Herriot party in France though more radical) made it plain that if the government backed down permanently and did not pledge eventual cancellation, they would resign and combine forces in a new election. Prime Minister Azaña, who is dependent upon Socialist sufferance, declared that a temporary retreat must be made but that he would by no means contemplate a surrender. A compromise was finally adopted by a vote of six to four, the bill was withdrawn, and the matter left to a commission, with representatives both from the Company and the government, to work out a mutually satisfactory solution. But while this plan has been hailed as a great victory at Washington, it is hardly that; for there is nothing to indicate any recession, ultimately, in the Spanish determination to nationalize the property. In fact, it is doubtful that any government failing to do so could hold office long; for the great and influential General Union of Workers has been pressing its leader, Caballero, to act, and the illegitimate child of Primo and

the I. T. and T. was a major issue in the campaign that swept out Alfonso.

Two weeks before the Revolution, Miguel de Unamuno, the rebel educator, made a fiery speech in the historic Ateneo at Madrid. The adventurers who conquered South America four hundred years ago, he said, were not only interested in gain for themslves, but used their wealth and power to fortify the Spanish kings in their fight against the rising tide of Lutheran reform. He did not say, although he might have done so, that in our day financial adventurers of the Western Hemisphere are reversing history and in the course of profit-making in far lands are seeking to bulwark a system of economic imperialism against the growing peril of socialization. He pointed out the way in which the reactionary monarchs of the early sixteenth century threw their whole foreign policy behind the *conquistadores;* he did not, however, describe the support given in the twentieth century to our foreign adventurers by the Department of State.

THE central problem of international politics today is a method of escape from the *status quo.* In world affairs the dead hand of the past is always found with a treaty or a contract in its fingers. The millions of youthful Germans, Frenchmen, and Europeans generally who might otherwise devote their energies to constructive social effort, must go on fighting, and paying for, the War; they must struggle either to break the Versailles Treaty or to keep it sacrosanct. When Persia desires to rearrange her Anglo-Persian oil concession, she is presented by the British in stern speech with a 60-year contract signed 31 years ago under an ousted dynasty, when the present energetic Shah was an unknown youth. And when the young Spanish Republic "of the workers of all classes" tries to socialize its basic industries in clear accord with the popular will, it runs head-on into a combination of the I. T. and T. and its right-hand man, the United States government.

It does not matter whether agreements are consummated fairly, honorably, openly, or by devious channels; the attitude of capitalistic governments is uniformly the same. "A contract is a contract"; just as a treaty is a treaty, even though realistic observers know that, as Professor Sterling Edmunds has well said, oftentimes these agreements "deserve no more to be fulfilled than a promise extorted from an innocent pedestrian by a nocturnal highwayman."

The casual tourist might wonder why the Spaniards should complain. No finer telephone system exists outside the United States; the service is far better than in either France or England, with dial phones of the latest design in the cities and lines stretching everywhere. Calls are cheap—from Barcelona to Madrid, over four hundred miles, only about sixty cents—although in Santander and the Basque provinces there were protests and even strikes of subscribers because the previous service there had been socialized and not profit-making, and because under the new contract all control rates jumped almost 375 per cent.

The motives are not simple, and there is more behind the wish than appears upon the surface. From the viewpoint of defense and the consolidation of the Revolution, absolute control over the telephone system is essential. The Spaniard often thinks in dramatic terms; everyone knows how the colorful but abortive rebellion of December 12, 1930, failed because a young woman telephone operator in Jaca, the mountain garrison, got a fateful message through to Madrid about the premature *coup* in that northern town. "Republicanization" of the army has been well completed. "Republicanization" of the navy is almost final. "Republicanization" of the schools is going on as fast as teachers can be secured, with 7,500 new schools started in the first year and 20,000 planned for. "Republicanization" of communication is the logical next step. Nor is it any secret that American capitalists in Spain have been far more friendly to the monarchy than to the Republic.

ANOTHER menace to stability is the body of Anarcho-Syndicalists, whose strategy can be comprehended only by the most nimble of mentalities. Although they rallied loyally to the new regime when it was challenged last July by General Sanjurjo and his monarchist counter-revolution, they themselves had hurled out boldly at the government in the previous September, calling for a government of "One Big Union"—their attack taking the form of political strikes within the organization of the telephone company, along with occasional bombing of exchanges and the widespread cutting of wires.

For a long time complaints have been made by labor leaders that telephone workers have been grossly underpaid and that unionization has been discouraged. The telephone system is an important link in the official program to promote the welfare of the working class. As a matter of fact, while living standards in Spain are often terribly low, it is a land of contrasts: a male cotton picker near Seville receives only 97 cents for an eight-hour day, but a locomotive engineer earns 41 cents an hour. It is the old story of labor organization as contrasted with no organization. But Spain has had alert unions and various forms of social benefits for some time, including an old age pension system to which contributions are made by the state and by employers but not by employees (unless they wish to augment the pension). The important change is that the new regime definitely aligns itself with the workers. As an undersecretary of the Cabinet wrote me recently, "It is no longer a matter of establishing laws purely of protection. We must establish justice.

complicated new labor code, with its labor agree- laws, its mixed occupational juries, and its kers' participation in industry, deserves an article self. Though hampered by attacks on the peseta, ne world depression, and even in 1931 by the worst th known since 1901 (in one small region rain has fallen for seven years!), the government's policy forced wages up and hours down for thousands of kers—conspicuous examples being the olive indus- of Seville and the coal mines of Asturias. The rnment, especially the Socialists (though Azaña ward the left on labor questions), is eager to get of the large utilities and set up model labor con- ns for the other industries of the nation.

ow the foreign capitalist reacts to this situation is ely indicated by a dispatch to the New York *Times* ne 9, 1932:

> There is one thing the foreign companies have not realized nvesting in the Spanish field. Spaniards always have been ling to let foreigners create utilities for them. But then vy taxes begin to fall and labor laws hamper the work. ally there is sometimes a complete seizure. The Spaniard ploys this means of letting others work for him, though en a strong government [i.e. a dictator], recognizing inter- ional usages [playing the capitalist racket against his own ple], is in power, this tendency is fairly well checked.

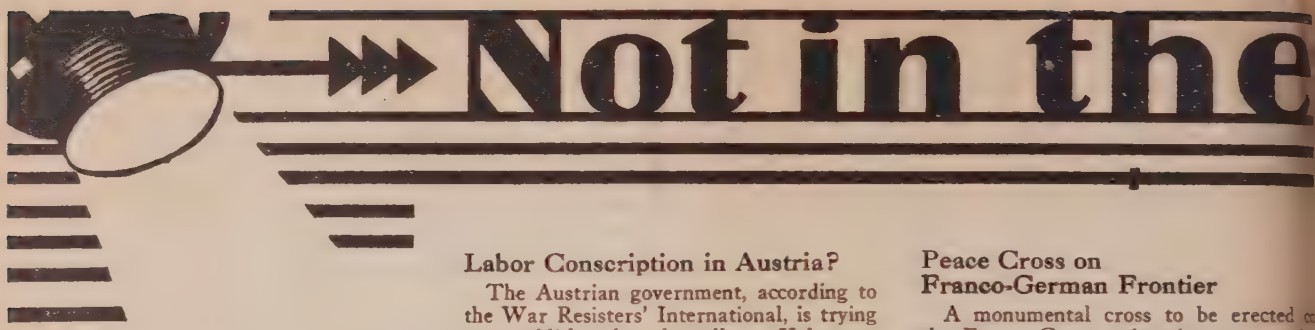
HERE is a marked animosity toward American capitalists. Spaniards look at us with the eyes of n Americans, not of Europeans. It is a rare news- r in Spain that does not reflect daily some expres- of distrust of "Yankee" imperialism on the part ur neighbors to the south. Again, while Spaniards ne type now ruling do not bemoan the passing of ancient empire, they do not forget that it re- ed its final blow from the United States in one of most groundless and hypocritical wars of history. more telling is the way in which our business rep- ntatives, even our diplomats, fawned on Alfonso the aristocracy. Even up to the day before Al- o checked out, the American Luncheon Club in drid expected him to be their guest speaker. Our ner Ambassador, the late Alexander Moore, so I told a dozen times during the Revolution, used to p nights playing the New York stock market with King and Queen, and fabulous sums were variously forth as made in this manner for the monarchs by Moore's assistance. The people of Spain for s have been nervous over the plums given to con- on-hunters, passing a restrictive law in 1900, stiff- g it in 1910, and enacting further regulations in 1. Laws were ruled out for the I. T. and T| by no, whose son was made a legal adviser.

ust before the Revolution the firm of Morgan, with Bank of the Netherlands and other well-known in- tions, loaned $60,000,000, which was deperately needed to aid the budget and to bolster up the wob- bling Aznar dictatorship. It was scarcely negotiated when the overturn came. At that time I asked one of the greatest figures in the revolutionary regime his at- titude toward this loan. Bitterly he grated: "If we find that any of that money has been spent, we shall repudiate the obligation and say to the United States: 'Send your warships over here, if you like, as you have done in the Caribbean; but you will never collect a single cent.'"

Spain buys from the United States far more than she sells us. In 1929 her imports from this country (more than from any other) amounted to 435,785,- 000 gold pesetas, while she sent to us only 257,624,- 000. About the same ratio has prevailed since then. Her appeals for tariff reciprocity and more orders have not had much effect, Uncle Sam following his custom of deploring foreign trade walls while bliss- fully admiring his own. As a step toward the cultiva- tion of unity with Latin America, Spain also instituted preferential tariffs that hit our exporters hard. The trend in relations between the two countries has been toward resentment in Spain and shocked rectitude on the banks of the Potomac.

SINCE the new government came into existence, there has been a steady march toward socializa- tion. In the early months, Prieto got through a de- cree forcing everyone to give up all holdings of for- eign currency, in an attempt to stabilize the mercurial peseta. The Constitution itself declares (Article 42), "All wealth of the country . . . is subordinated to the interests of the national economy. . . . Property and all lands can be expropriated for public use, with proper indemnity, unless another law approved by an absolute majority of the *Cortes* makes payment unnecessary." Thwarted in his efforts to nationalize the Bank of Spain entirely last November, Prieto (a resolute and capable man who used to sell matches on the streets) warned the Cabinet that he would soon obtain his de- sire, for "Either the bank defeats the government or the government defeats the bank." On January 28 the Cabinet ordered landowners to hire unemployed workers on "undermanned" properties or else lose their lands at once. On March 14 the proffer of a loan by an outside syndicate was turned down. In August Minister of Finance Juan Carner announced that in 1933 the government would impose an income tax. And finally the expropriation of the great feudal and other landed estates was driven through this fall, with moderate compensation only for those whose in- come is derived exclusively from their lands.

The Compañia Telefonica Nacional is next in line. It is certain, barring some extraordinary upheaval, that outside control is doomed. Spain has hung up; the argument remains as to who shall pay for the call.



Buy War Materials!

Vickers-Armstrong, the largest British armament makers, have begun advertising their wares in the German *Militär-Wochenblatt*. The ads show the latest developments of the arms manufacturers and carry pictures of the latest model armored tanks and the new 15-cm. gun. In the British House of Commons there have been questions as to the meaning of these advertisements. The Treaty of Versailles forbids to Germany the possession, the import and re-export of these arms. Why then the ads? The Government replied that there had been no export of arms to Germany. Nor is it thinkable that the German government would buy these arms abroad, if it decided to disregard Versailles. The *Militär-Wochenblatt* declares that the ads were placed because this journal is read by the military leaders in all countries. Still the advertising remains curious, because hitherto the arms manufacturers have secured their orders through their agents with as little publicity as possible. The *Tagebuch*, which carries this story, believes that the ads were an attempt to keep alive the military spirit.

Crime and Big Cities

Large cities have higher crime rates than smaller cities, and the decline is almost proportionate to the decrease in population totals, according to the Department of Justice. Reports were compiled from 1,193 cities with an aggregate population of 45,900,731. In murder, manslaughter, robbery and rape large cities show twice the offenses of smaller ones. There are four times as many auto thefts in the large cities as in the small.

A People Without a Language

The Ruthenians of the Carpathian region, who were exploited by the nobles' rule under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were never given educational opportunities, and consequently never developed a written language, or "literary" tongue. Ever since the War, a conflict among the intellectuals of the region between a Pan-Russian and a Magyar tendency, has kept back the coming of a written language until recently, when the Socialist minister of Education, Dr. Ivan Dérer of Czechoslovakia, himself a Slovak, began the groundwork for a new type of education which will at last establish a uniform written language for these people.

Labor Conscription in Austria?

The Austrian government, according to the War Resisters' International, is trying to establish what it calls a Voluntary Work Service. The intention is to find non-competitive work for the unemployed, who will be paid two shillings per day. The scheme is being opposed both by Socialists and war resisters on the ground that it will lead to a system of labor conscription and thereafter to military conscription, and also that the men would probably be used for strike-breaking.

Municipal Lighting Plants

Painesville, Ohio, has its own municipal electric lighting plant. Despite several rate reductions it has been piling up a surplus of about $4,000 a month. The rates are now among the lowest in Ohio.

Militarism and Aviation

Senator de Brouckere of Belgium, chairman of the League of Nations committee on air transport, told the disarmament commission that militarism is holding back the development of European aviation. European planes are all built for military purposes or at least in such a way that conversion into military planes is easy.

Detroit Youth Groups Unite

The amalgamation of various Detroit junior groups of workers' organizations has been effected. Seven organizations are represented in the federation, which has adopted the name of Detroit Council of Labor Youth Groups. The primary objects sought by the newly created organization include the solidarity of labor as opposed to all racialism and nationalism; solidarity of the working class of the world as opposed to capitalist wars; the education of youth to the ideal of production for use; the advocacy of unionism, and such assistance as can be given to workers in industrial disputes.

Peace Posters in France

In France, Jean Carlu and his group of advertising experts have founded the Office of Graphic Propaganda for Peace. Their aim is to advertise peace exactly as they might sell any commercial products. Their method is largely the use of arresting billboard posters. The first poster represented a woman screaming in terror because an air bomb was dropping directly upon her and her child. In the distance a squadron of bombing planes was flying away. The legend for this poster was "For the Disarmament of Nations." More than 20,000 of these posters were placed on the billboards of France.

Peace Cross on Franco-German Frontier

A monumental cross to be erected on the Franco-German frontier as a symbol of peace and reconciliation is the suggestion of Professor Zout-Crever of Switzerland. The proposed cross would be 52[illegible] feet high, which is more than half the height of the Eiffel Tower. In the ground floor there would be a great festival hall for peace manifestations, with room for theatrical performances, motion pictures, exhibitions, libraries, etc., all in the interest of peace.

"Yipsels" Freed

The four members of the "Yipsels" or Young Peoples Socialist League who were arrested for picketing at a strike conducted by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Los Angeles have been freed. Charges of assault and battery preferred by the notorious Los Angeles Red Squad were dismissed. The Yipsels were found guilty, however, of violating the anti-picketing ordinance which prohibits picketing within five blocks of the scene of a strike, and were given suspended sentences of 30 days.

Reyburn Plaza Fight Won

Reyburn Plaza in Philadelphia has long been barred to minority political groups. During the recent campaign President Hoover was scheduled to speak there while Norman Thomas was refused a permit. Thomas spoke without the permit and was not molested. The Communist Unemployed Council followed suit and there was no interference. The Plaza is now presumably open to all peaceful meetings.

Danish War Resisters

Denmark, for all of its Socialist Prime Minister and its most ambitious plan for disarmament, is hardly consistent in its treatment of war objectors. The persecution of Vig Knudsen, whose case has won wide attention throughout the world, is incredible in view of the Danish pretension of peace. First called up at the age of 20 in 1928, he has gone through a succession of imprisonments to break his spirit, which he has met by repeated hunger strikes. His last sentence was for twenty months against which he has lodged an appeal with a high court. Meantime, the numbers of those who refuse military service are mounting, with 36 at Varde, 30 in Jutland, and others elsewhere, with also a rising demand for an easing of the civ service alternative, which is now beyond the period of military service.

Headlines

Armament Business is Good

New York *Times* dispatch reports France exported during the month of ber 6,892,000 francs' worth of arms, er and munitions. The ten-months' for this year is now about 132,000,- francs (about $5,280,000), which is than twice the amount of such ex- in the first ten months of 1931. "Of October exports," the report states, 0,000 francs' worth went to China; ,000 francs' worth to Algeria and occo combined, and the rest to scat- countries."

ıs Control in Sweden

ıe first act of the new Socialist ad- stration in Sweden to affect interna- l policy has been the appointment of ommission to investigate means for forming the largest munitions works ıe country, the Bofors plant, into a rnment factory. The government de- to bring about a monopoly of ammu- i manufacture if possible, but if not, east rigorous government control.

ıcuse Birth Control Clinic

ans for the establishment of a birth ol clinic in Syracuse, New York, ac- ng to the New York *Times,* will be ed out by the local chapter of the ration for Birth Control, under the manship of Dr. Edward S. Van Duyn the sponsorship of a committee of pa- s headed by Mrs. Frederick R. Haz- Mrs. George C. Barclay of New , head of the Federation, announced Syracuse will be the "key city" in a for a statewide system of clinics.

oney Demonstration

ıptain W. F. Hynes of the Los An- Red Squad received the shock of his during his recent visit to San Fran- . The Communists staged a Mooney onstration in the San Francisco Civic torium and more than 15,000 persons ded the auditorium. Captain Hynes his best to induce the San Francisco e to break up the meeting, but his ings were ridiculed as "small town ." The demonstration with its at- ant parades was the most impressive held for the release of Mooney. Paul cotte, who has declared that he un- ngly carried the deadly suitcase to the of the explosion defied the authorities lispute his story. When Theodore ser offered to go to Los Angeles to nge a similar meeting, Captain Hynes ared: "Constitution or no constitution, or no law, I am going to see to it that Communist meetings are held in Los les."

Catholic Pacifism

Rev. Francis Stratmann's important volume on peace, *Weltkirche und Weltfriede,* has now been translated into English (*Church and War,* published by P. J. Kennedy). The book has been an important factor in German peace work.

White House Expenses

White House expenses under Harding were $1,377,840; under Coolidge they were $1,722,560; under Hoover they are $2,114,-217. Wilson had three automobiles; Hoover has eleven.

POPULATION GROWTH IN CHINA

Year (A. D.)	*Million*
1	60
100	50
750	50
1250	55
1300	50
1500	65
1700	160
1800	250
1850	320
1900	405
1931	450

The actual annual increase at present may be placed at more than 2 to 3 millions on account of the high mortality rate. During 1930, the famine year, and 1931, the flood year, there was probably no actual increase.

—*Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum.* (Reprinted from the *Birth Control Review.*)

"It's the Young Who Labor"

A recent 1930 census releases reports that 42 per cent of all women and 47 per cent of all men in gainful occupations were 25 and under 45 years of age. The preponderance of the young among the gainfully employed women is shown in the fact that 37 per cent were under 25 as against 20 per cent who were 45 and over, while of the men only 21 per cent were under 25 as compared with 33 per cent 45 and over. The number of employed women under 25 has increased 12 per cent since 1920, while that of men increased only six per cent. More than one-third of all married women with jobs in 1930 were employed in domestic and personal service, nearly one-fifth in manufacturing, over one-tenth in trade and in clerical occupations, and nearly one-tenth in agriculture.

The New Warfare

A questionnaire was sent to leading generals by an Austrian asking whether, in view of the changed character of modern warfare, most armaments and military training had not become absurd. Forty-three generals replied. Several responses make it evident that the virus of pacifism has lodged even in the generals. One general concedes the point but inquires why he should do anything about a matter which would abolish his job. Another rejoices that hereafter "those who made the war" will not be able to remain in safety behind the lines.

"Ways to Peace"

American pacifists who can read German will be interested in a new compilation, by Eugen Relgis, of Roumania, of 160 unedited articles, letters, etc., by as many notable pacifists and leaders in radical thought. There is a preface by Romain Rolland. Copies may be secured at RM 2.80 from Herrn Paul Reichert, Verlag, Süderstrasse, 15, Heide 1, Holstein, Germany.

A Belgian Who Dared

Pierre Van Den Eeden, of Hoboken (Belgium), who is a sergeant of the garrison at Malines, at the moment when his regiment was about to set out for Charleroi, where a miners' strike was in operation, broke his rifle and tore off his stripes, declaring, "I refuse to shoot my brothers." He was brought before the Council of War at Antwerp and condemned to three months' imprisonment and fined 140 francs (about $4.00). Protests against the action of the authorities were sent in by many workers' organizations who praised the sergeant's bold stand.

"Where Your Treasure Is"

Endowed universities and colleges in the United States depend for their income to a considerable extent upon the profits of railroads, public utilities, and large-scale industry, according to an analysis of their investments made public by Wood, Struthers and Co., and published in the New York *World Telegram.* The distribution of the composite fund of these universities and colleges, according to field of investment is as follows:

Railroads	$99,586,800	18.5%
Public Utilities	125,646,750	23.4%
Industrials	87,779,010	10.4%
U. S. Governments	17,757,150	3.3%
U. S. Municipals	5,024,560	0.9%
Foreign Bonds	13,274,240	2.5%
Real Estate	146,931,510	27.4%
Bank and Insurance	9,698,160	1.8%
Miscellaneous	30,907,910	5.8%

Catholic "Radicalism"

R. A. McGOWAN

IN an article[1] which appeared in a recent issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW the writer affirmed that there is a radicalism in the social attitudes of the Catholic Church; but that (disparagingly) there is a tendency to idealize medieval institutions and that, due to the opposition to religion of the founders of socialism and some of their present followers, there is a great fear of the word "socialism." With qualifications, this three-part statement is true. Radicalism is a vague word; but if the intention was to say that a thoroughgoing change in the present system is advocated and not simply an adjustment here and there, then the first part of the statement is certainly true. And if a love for the principles that medievalism falteringly and yet not too imperfectly applied in the guild system is what is meant by a tendency to idealize medievalism, then that, too, is true. It is also true that there is a fear of the word "socialism"; far more, there is a fear of the thing. And while it is true that the fear is due in part to the irreligion of Socialists, it is due also to the socialist tendency to governmentalize everything.

The Catholic is a "radical." In the present state of society he is profoundly and perpetually restless. He thinks that this whole economic system, marked during its childhood, adolescence, manhood and old age by wars and revolutions and peace-time atrocities, misery and sadness, was born in the denial of his religion by the Western world. He traces the eighteenth and nineteenth and much of the twentieth century "anti-clericalism" of traditionally Catholic countries to their apostasy to business individualism and their consciousness of the direct conflict that existed between the individualism they yearned for and the Catholic Faith.

If what he proposes as a substitute for this present system takes on the flavor of medieval institutions, it does so because to him the guild system, in its motives, principles and organization, forms, in spite of all its hesitancies, defections, errors and sins the greatest social system the world has ever known. He wants now to apply that system, constructively and creatively, to the machine technology of his present environment.

The guild system was an economic system based on autonomous and democratic economic organization under intimate governmental relationship. But it allowed, was founded in, and encouraged strength in the individual. Its motive was both justice between individuals and the social justice which means action for the common good. Its code was a further detailing of already detailed moral principles. Its mainspring was a religion. It existed under artisanship and local trade. The Catholic can see no reason why the size of the tool and the size of the trade area should nullify its worth, however different the applications.

THE Catholic glories in the guild. He bemoans the fact that the opening of the Near East, the Far East and the Americas should have suddenly changed the old world of Europe into one part of a new round world at the very time when Catholics were torpid and degenerate, and that the Europeans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whose ancestors had long been at the work of creating a civilization in one area, should have turned a shoulder upon their principles, as in the Catholic countries, or almost their whole backs, as in the non-Catholic countries, at the very moment when a new and gigantic task lay before them. He wonders at the greatness the world would have experienced if Europe had met its era of colonization as it met its era of barbarism. For then it might have met well, he holds, the new adventures which the world entered upon when it started to apply science to economic life.

Individualism maintained that if every person were allowed to do almost as he pleased, then all individuals would be strong and happy, and society would be happy. The Catholic never believed so. Now along comes socialism, which says that if every society is allowed to do what it as a society pleases, i.e. always what its ruling group pleases, then all society will be strong and happy and all individuals will be happy. The Catholic does not accept this promise. His fear of socialism is the fear that another cycle of misery under a totally or an excessively governmentalized economic life will begin when the grossly individualized economic life of the recent centuries will have ended its rule. And he does not want something new, false and unnatural to succeed something unnatural and false and old.

The Catholic feels that hope lies in the direction of the guild, the organization of the occupation and the interorganization of all occupations, the organization of economic groups along their natural divisions. Then having three elements, the individual, the economic organization and the political state, he wants none of the three to be able to do as it pleases. He wants the individual to be normally strong in his own name by property ownership. He wants the organized economic group to be the autonomous legislator and to a degree the executive of economic life. He wants an active

[1] "Reviving Radical Religion," by Edward L. Israel, in THE WORLD TOMORROW of November 9, 1932, Page 450.

establishing this organized life out of the present ngs towards it and then stimulating it, restraining eventing its destruction, passing needed laws for ood of groups and all society and owning indus- when individual or group ownership is uncon- ble.

anting this trinity, the Catholic is fearful even of the "socialism" because its sole connotations are the t Society and the Great Society's organization, the rnment. He thinks it an unnatural basis of social from which no lasting good can come, a stripping the individual and the group of nearly all strength nitiative except that allowed by fluctuating ma- es. When Socialists whittle away part of their c ownership program and call out for group man- ent of public-owned industries, he is happy. For inks they are thus coming to realize the profound rtance of individual and group strength. But he d prefer them to waver less, to be more convinced e strictly limited value of public ownership and rnment action, and to be more anxious to work program for those occupations and industries to e economic life government ownership does not seem in their judgment applicable. Simply to say sound economic planning is not possible until gov- ent ownership of certain industries arrives may be as the last Socialist platform says; but the Catho- onders how the people in the other occupations e means of production are not to be government- wned (and if technocracy is right these other oc- ions will be the majority) will assure themselves e high standard of living that productive industry s possible for them, unless they are solidly or- ed and are working owners of their own means ork.

CIALISTS now see that the persons in the gov- rnment-owned industries will have neither free- nor material well-being if they are not in large the organized administrators of their resources, ment and technique. The Catholic wonders why lists do not extend this same concept of organiza- o the other occupations, frankly ascribe to them ely distributed ownership of the equipment and ials of their working life and develop a program uch ownership and organization. Indeed, who knows the exact industries that have to be owned ly for the public good? Some certainly cannot t in private hands; they are too important to the . But frankly, why, except for propaganda pur- , should the Socialist Party tab a number of in- es for government ownership when some are r line cases that a person cannot be sure of until ragmatic test of a fully organized life reveals the ? The Catholic wonders if the Socialist is not so fed in the beauties of government ownership and rnment control that even though he speaks of or- ganized group administration he is not fully convinced of anything except the beauty of his first love and that he is inhibited from following through on his newer intellectual convictions.

Latterly the Catholic is beginning to fear that all this pother about governmentalization will turn out to be simply an attempt to congeal and perpetuate by governmental economic planning the present self-defeating class division. He sees more reason than ever to glorify the guild structure.

But if the Catholic thinks that there is an inner logic of economic life which calls for organization in addition to the property ownership to which individualism pinned its sole faith, and in addition to the government action that socialism exclusively magnifies, this does not lead him to think that any inner logic of things will lead human beings either to see the logic or to follow it. Here he has another quarrel with the Socialists. For the founding fathers of socialism and many of its children leave out of their calculations something the Catholic is convinced is a prime element. To the old-time Socialist, God is a solace and refuge that man invents when he does not understand social forces and the class conflict. To the Catholic, the help of God is necessary to understand both the social forces and the naturally right thing to do and actually, then, to do the right thing once it is known.

Ultimatum

NOTHING in nature is unkind to me,
Nothing at all
Meets in my heart a single enmity.
Only that wall
Man builds for bulwark makes humanity
Inimical.
Let the world rise; shaken from sea to sea,
Let the stones fall!

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN

Ecce Ancilla Domini—*Rossetti*

MARY, the mild handmaiden of the Lord,
Leans on her couch in heavy wonderment;
Her slender, startled form is numbly bent
Under the powerful message which ignored
Mary, the woman; the omniscient word
Was a request awaiting no consent.
The flaming angel stands preëminent,
Bearing the tokens of divine award.

There is no light of victory in her eyes
Or triumph in her body. Why should she,
Chosen the channel for divinity,
See only vanished stars and midnight skies?
A strange prefiguring to her was given
To count the thorns and hear the nails hard-driven.

DORIS WETZEL JACOBSEN

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Eternity and Our Time

The Religious Situation. By Paul Tillich; translated by H. Richard Niebuhr. Henry Holt and Co. $1.50.

PAUL TILLICH is the intellectual leader of the little group of religious Socialists in Germany who are trying to understand our modern civilization and the proletarian protest against it in religious terms. This little book deals with both political and religious phenomena of our day, but not in the ordinary sense of these terms. Tillich is not interested in the religion of the churches or in theology, except to note that they either preserve a religious symbolism which is untenable in our generation or capitulate to the secular spirit of the day. Liberal Protestantism, in his view, represents such a capitulation.

Essential religion is, for Tillich, the recognition of the transcendent and unconditioned, and its use as a point of reference for a criticism of the finite and conditioned. The essence of irreligion is therefore the sense of self-sufficient finitude. This is the dominant characteristic of a capitalist civilization. A capitalist civilization has robbed man of a loving relationship to nature and to goods. Nature must be conquered and things must be used. This utilitarian spirit betrays the destruction of the religious sense, the loss of the feeling that everything in time stands in relation to the eternal and achieves its significance through that relationship. The most characteristic expression of the irreligion of our age is to be found in its myth of progress, for in that myth the idea of a finite world, resting in itself and evolving toward an infinite goal, is perfectly expressed. Wherever religion has accepted the myth of progress it has betrayed its capitulation to the spirit of modernity, to the ethos of a capitalistic civilization.

It is for this reason that the catastrophic political theories of the proletarian world are regarded as more significant for the future of religion than the religiosity of the churches. Tillich does not believe that political catastrophism is in itself a new triumph of religion over irreligion. But it contains hints of what the religion of the future will be and must be when the contemporary irreligious culture is destroyed. Incidentally, the capitalistic world has already partly corrupted the proletarian protest, because it has infected parliamentary socialism with the myth of progress, and communism with the illusion of the possibility of realizing the eternal and the absolute in time. "There are societies which are turned away from the eternal, which rest content in finitude and time, and there are other societies which are turned toward the eternal and which express in their forms the judgment that they have experienced as proceeding from the eternal. But there are no societies which possess the eternal."

The religious attitude which Tillich commends is characterized as an attitude of "belief-ful realism," an attitude in which the religious tension between time and eternity, between the absolute and the relative, is maintained. This attitude is to be distinguished from a beliefless realism which cancels this tension and from idealism which weakens it by idealizing the realities of history.

It is difficult to do justice to the profundities of insight into the spiritual problems of our era which this book presents. It is an analysis which could not possibly have been written in America and which many liberal, semi-radical and unreligious radical Americans will find meaningless. America is still too thoroughly immersed in the illusions and superstitions of liberal, middle-class culture to appreciate just what Tillich is trying to do. But his book points the way in the direction of which our thought must ultimately go if we are to have more than a merely political or superficially rationalistic interpretation of the realities of our decaying civilization and culture. One can not help but hope that both our interpreters of religion and our political analysts will profit from this book and that American interest in Tillich's thought will warrant the translation of some of his other works, particularly his *Religiöse Verwirklichung.* R. N.

The Law and the Wrongdoer

Crime, Criminals, and Criminal Justice. By Nathaniel F. Canter. Henry Holt and Company. 470 pages. $3.50.

HERE is a book which not only presents, in adequate and careful exposition, the defective methods used at the present time in dealing with crime and criminals, and the inadequacy of our legal institutions, but sets out in detail and with admirable balance the results of scientific experimentation in the field. The findings in the fields of psychology, sociology, legal research, physiology, and anthropology are presented objectively and with such nice discrimination that the student is left with the opinion that criminology is a definite and complete science in itself, however frequently it may draw on social science sources for its postulates.

Comprehensiveness is only one of the admirable qualities of the work. The subject matter is reviewed historically when necessary and the various separate theories of crime are given due weight but no more. The social science approach gives the subject matter proportion and continuity. The author deals with causes of crime, the administration of criminal justice, and penology; and is to be especially commended for the care with which he has made clear the various methods and techniques employed by criminologists and the comments and evaluations thereof.

In the field of legal speculation the author presents the viewpoints of men such as Cardozo, Pound, Holmes, Ehrlich, Dewey and other advanced scholars, European as well as American. He makes clear the dependence of "legal science" upon the other social sciences and shows that the law "has not kept pace with other social science primarily because of its failure, until recent times, to examine its own fundamental deductive premises as to its nature and, secondly, because of its insulation from other fields of knowledge."

In stating that the anthropological theories of Lombroso are being revivified in Italy, the author might have added that a similar attempt is being made in other European countries, and in the chapter called " 'Laws' of Criminology" he might have made

empt to correlate the various factors in the causation of psychological, physiological, and endocrinological. Specifit has been shown that important controlling factors in the ogical basis of crime may be physiological and endocrinodisorders.

chapters which deal with factors in crime careers and l intelligence are superb, both in bringing together a mass terial which heretofore has remained uncorrelated and, y, for the balanced point of view in summary and ion. Of particular value is the appendix, which deals with nal system of the Soviet Union. The author is to be comd for the trouble he has taken to secure this information, re is no adequate authority in English dealing with the .

FREDERICK W. KILLIAN

ORRESPONDENCE

Criticism From the Left

a post election issue you comment cryptically, as a solitary ticism on the conduct of the Socialist campaign, that it was olicy to omit confiscation in formulating the Party platform en propose a capital levy in the closing weeks of the cam- when no opportunity remained for educating the electorate principle of confiscation.

was confiscation introduced by a sort of virgin birth into mpaign long after the Party's deliberations and pronounce- had been completed? When the platform committee, de- he effort of Comrade James Maurer, reported, with the fer" of industry discreetly tacked to the tail of much ful- verbiage, I made confiscation the subject of a proposed ment to the preamble to the platform as submitted by the ittee, with an introductory statement of perhaps 25 words. ade Louis Waldman, of New York, leaped into the discus- ith the pure gem "I object to any mention of revolution in cialist platform." He was followed at length by Charles on, of New York, in the same vein. I waited in vain for e of prominence to take the floor to oppose the extremely vative social-reform views of Waldman and Solomon, being to regain the floor myself. Discussion was chopped off and very few of the delegates informed of the issues involved, nendment was defeated.

reupon Busick of California took the only opportunity re- g for reopening the issue by moving to substitute the word scate" for "transfer." It was only then, with the issue d to such terms as to make confiscation a rigid principle cedure, as was not the case with my amendment, that Com- Norman Thomas entered the debate with a powerful personal and the most effective speech he made during the Con- n, to denounce outright espousal of confiscation. Intending event a stampede to a perhaps too inflexible statement, he ly stampeded the Convention in the opposite direction. Only of us were willing to withstand the pressure of what was g less than mass hysteria induced by Thomas's overstate-

As was to be expected, the decision was interpreted by the not as refusal to commit but as outright rejection of the principle of confiscation. Some time after, Thomas de- tely made an espousal of the use of confiscation as an instru- of Socialist policy in a speech delivered in Milwaukee and came forth with the proposal for the capital levy, a most rly formulation of a practical form of confiscation. Com- Thomas has carefully repaired a serious error of judgment, eve.

But what about THE WORLD TOMORROW? In the same issue in which they chide the Socialist campaign in America on the issue I have just mentioned, they rush into print with a sharp denunciation of the Swiss Socialists, provided the conditions attending the recent Geneva slaughter were thus and so, although they admit in the next breath that they do not know the exact circumstances, or in fact the essential details. Now if the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW used its pages constantly to show in detail the operation of the modern state machinery as an institution to ceaselessly crush working-class reaction to oppression and suffering; if they showed that the idea that the present political and social institutions are surviving by consent of the governed is a bare-faced falsehood; if they made their readers each week conscious of the bloody, one-sided battles of the miners in Illinois, the tobacco workers in Florida, the textile hands North and South; if the editors, in short, attempted to give their overwhelmingly middle-class readers and themselves some substitute for that knowledge that is bred in the bone and heart of the informed member of the working class, they might be more trusted and more trustworthy as far as the labor movement in general, and the Socialist movement in particular is concerned, and their judgments concerning violence on the part of the oppressed classes would fall into the proportionately insignificant place they deserve.

Braddock, Pa. ARTHUR G. MCDOWELL

Has America a Proletariat?

A LEADING article in THE WORLD TOMORROW of December 7th, 1932,—"Religion's New Shrine," by Joseph Ernest McAfee—announces the following remarkable discovery: "One of the reasons why Marxism has made such little progress in American thought and life is that Marxism demands the uprising and domination of the proletariat, whereas there is no proletariat in America." A Socialist publication which passes such a misleading statement unchallenged will do well to define this noun for the benefit of its readers and contributors.

Marxian Socialists do not accept McAfee's narrow definition of a proletarian as merely an "unskilled laborer." They know better. Incidentally, they also know that an explanation for the slow progress of Marxism in the United States can be found in Marxism itself. From Marx and Engels down to Lenin and Debs the word proletarians was used in the movement to describe the large majority of workers who have no land or others means of production of their own and are therefore compelled to hire themselves out—"sell their labor-power"—in order to live.

The 14 million employed and unemployed working men and women who are dependent on our manufacturing and mechanical industries for a livelihood are proletarians. They are proletarians all, floor sweeper to chief engineer, including the 300,000 technologists, provided their main support comes from wages or salaries earned in the industries which they do not themselves own. So are the three million landless farmers who are forced to work for wages. So are the 1,200,000 miners, the 4,500,000 transportation workers and the 500,000 in the amusement industry. So are the more than a million public service employees and most of the 7,500,000 working in our banks and merchandizing establishments. Yes, and so are the thousands employed by our press and the million teachers in our schools, for they too do not own the means of their employment.

We do indeed have a proletariat in the United States—a proletariat which is gaining in numbers and class-consciousness, the still lingering unpopularity of Marxism notwithstanding.

Philadelphia, Pa. EZRA STONE

Say It in English

MAY I be allowed just a word of complaint? Why do Socialist writers use the word proletariat? I was just reading Joseph Ernest McAfee's remarks, in his article entitled "Religion's New Shrine," and in the second paragraph I twice came upon this outlandish word. I have been an active Socialist worker for many years, and often at the Socialist local I have asked some fellow member what the word proletariat means; and generally the reply was, "Search me," or something of that kind. Surely there are good Anglo-Saxon words enough. I think I could suggest a few. Anyway, here is one who thinks it is the height of absurdity to use an uncommon French word when a good English one will do as well.

Dearborn, Mich. W. G. KRUKE

Down With the Proletariat!

STUART CHASE, we notice from *A New Deal,* indicates that we shall be obliged to resort to "control from the top." That is quite opposite from a Dictatorship of the Proletariat—which, itself, must necessarily be rulership by self-appointed representatives of the vast majority who have been the propertyless.

The latter, the proletariat, deserve no position of "dictatorship"—even vicariously. In Russia they did not take that position; their very few intelligent would-be teachers and leaders did so. "Would-be" teachers, because the proletariat is unteachable; they are followers, psychologically—they will follow any kind of leadership that happens to get the best of what attention they possess at a crucial historical moment.

So-called Dictatorship of the Proletariat, during the course of its experimental operation in Russia, has become "control from the top." That is, the technically able direct all vital operations, as naturally and sanely they should. It required a few years for the proletariat of Russia to be forced to see that it is necessary to their own dumb-brained comfort that the skilled in production and distribution methods be protected in unhampered charge of directive affairs.

A reason, as I see it, for radical political movements having appealed during the present two generations to the "working class" lies in an attempt to procure force of numbers back of their prophesies of the eventual elimination of a wealth-filching useless element. Having expected to "educate" the proletariat was a futility; you cannot bring people to think accurately who have not the natural power to think at all, save only upon the most superficial of matters such as happen to be immediately surrounding or concerning them at the moment.

I advocate no measures for keeping the proletariat "down," but I say, "down with the idea that the proletariat be taught that it can or should become a Dictatorship." Down with "proletarian" misteaching, in other words. Soon we are apt to have terrible uprisings, as "relief funds" give out, as tax-payers strike more universally against carrying both the out-of-work poor and the speculating, gambling, useless rich and their "legislative protectors" as well. During such turmoil it were better for the proletariat to understand, as best their stupidity will permit, that control from the top is the only settlement of value possible for any and all of us.

Nor is it honest on the part of radical leadership to delude the hopelessly obtuse into vaguely imagining that they are going "to run things!" That is an out-and-out lie; for they are not. They cannot, they do not know enough to do so; they would vote as idiotically about measures in a collectivism as they do in selecting their present rulers.

Therefore I say "Down with the Proletariat!" Exterminate the existence of a proletariat by *exterminating private ownership in the basic living requirements of everyone.* The destruction of private ownership of facilities for production and distribution, the establishment of collectivism "controlled from the top" by most logically just now, that studious body of engineers advocating "technocracy," will automatically dispense with the disgrace of insulting the hardest workers upon whom we all depend for prime necessities by calling them "proletariat," "working class" and "propertyless."

Monticello, Ill. CHARLES SEVERANCE

The Cult of Unintelligibility

NOT long ago you ran an editorial on The Cult of Unintelligibility. If I understood it, you were finding fault with writers who could not be comprehended by the usual intelligence. I liked that; there are always so many things written that I can't understand.

But now you have written an editorial on When Half Gods Go and I can't understand that. Well, I understand it, but, *you* know there are some things which are unintelligible to a plain soul like me. Honestly, I never heard of Piero della Francesca, Berlioz, or Caravaggio, but anyway they all sound like foreigners to me. I know about Aldous Huxley, of course, the great zoologist, and I have heard Beethoven's Moonlight Serenade. I don't think you ought to write about half gods; we don't want any hyphenated religion in this country.

Paradise, Connecticut MRS. BLISS

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JESUS OF NAZARETH

f anyone wants to go with me, he must disre-
d himself and take his cross and follow me.
whoever wants to preserve his own life will
it, and whoever loses his life for me will find
For what good will it do a man if he gains the
ole world but parts with his life? What can
an give to buy back his life? . . . You know
t the rulers of the heathen lord it over them,
their great men tyrannize over them. It is
to be so among you, but whoever wants to be
at among you must be your servant, and who-
r wants to hold the first place among you must
your slave, just as the Son of Man has not
ne to be waited on, but to wait on other people,
to give his life to ransom many others.—
om the Gospel According to Matthew, as
anslated by Professor Goodspeed.

Who's Who in This Issue

nton A. Coblentz, poet and journalist, is the author of Marching Men."

A. McGowan is assistant director of the department of ocial action of the National Catholic Welfare Confer-nce.

l John Bostelmann is the author of several volumes of erse and has contributed to "Poetry", "The Dial" and ther journals of poetry.

is Wetzel Jacobsen contributes verse to a number of merican publications.

derick W. Killian is on the faculty of the law depart-ent of Dana College, Newark, N. J.

World Tomorrow Radio Hour

tion WEVD — Tuesday
300K—231M — Dec. 20—8:15 P.M.

Speaker: Devere Allen

ner weekly features of Station WEVD:

The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.
Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.
Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P. M.

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- ☐ The Coming of a New Party—By Paul H. Douglas
- ☐ The Challenge of Russia—By Sherwood Eddy
- ☐ Inheritance—By Phyllis Bentley
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